

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-12 EB-08 COME-00 TRSE-00 /079 W
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R 291903Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2978
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MADRID 10576

E.O. 11652 XGDS-1
TAGS: PINT, SP; PFOR, SP, UR
SUBJECT: PSOE DELEGATION IN MOSCOW

REF: MOSCOW 18297

1. SUMMARY. ACCORDING TO PSOE DELEGATION MEMBER
MIGUEL BOYER, ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE GROUP RETURNED
QUITE UNFAVORABLY IMPRESSED WITH THE USSR. HE
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD WON THE COMMUNIQUE
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GAME, ADDING THAT THE DELEGATION HAD AT LEAST SUCCEEDED
IN REMOVING THE MOST EGREGIOUS REFERENCES, SUCH AS
A CONDEMNATION OF THE NEUTRON BOMB. END SUMMARY.

2. PSOE ECONOMIST MIGUEL BOYER, TOGETHER WITH
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER ALFONSO GUERRA, CATALAN
PSOE LEADER FRANCISCO RAMOS, AND FELIPE GONZALEZ'

PERSONAL SECRETARY MYRIAM MARTINEZ, ACCOMPANIED THE PSOE SEC GEN ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION. BOYER, WHO ACCORDING TO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER LUIS GOMEZ LLORENTE "SAID HE WANTED TO GET DOWN AND KISS THE GROUND" WHEN THE GROUP'S RETURN FLIGHT LANDED IN LUXEMBOURG, GAVE EMBOFF THE FOLLOWING READOUT ON THE TRIP DURING A PRIVATE DEC. 26 CONVERSATION:

3. ON BALANCE, A NEGATIVE IMPRESSION. ACCORDING TO BOYER, WHO SAID HIS VIEWS WERE SHARED BY THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION, ALL OF THEM RETURNED UNFAVORABLY IMPRESSED WITH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, SOVIET PRODUCTIVITY, THE LOT OF THE CONSUMER, AND THE GENERAL STATE OF POLITICAL, INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC FREEDOM. THEY WERE LEFT WITH THE UNMISTAKABLE IMPRESSION, HE SAID, THAT THE SOVIET GOVT CONTINUED TO DEVOTE SUCH A HUGE SHARE OF NATIONAL INCOME TO ARMAMENTS, BECAUSE OF ITS "DEFENSE PSYCHOSIS," THAT THE ENTIRE ECONOMY WAS DISTORTED AND THE SOVIET CONSUMER SUFFERED AS A RESULT. THEY WERE TAKEN TO AN AUTOMOBILE PLANT NEAR MOSCOW, SAID BOYER, WHERE THE ASSEMBLY OPERATION WAS MORE ANTIQUATED AND LESS PRODUCTIVE THAN SEAT'S (THE SPANISH FIAT-AFFILIATED AUTO PRODUCER). THERE WERE IMPRESSIVE FACILITIES FOR THE WORKERS, HE ADDED, SUCH AS AN OLYMPIC SWIMMING POOL AND A THEATER, AND THIS APPARENTLY WAS THE SOVIETS' REASON FOR SHOWING THEM

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THE INSTALLATION. NOR WAS THE GROUP IMPRESSED IN GENERAL WITH MUCH-TOUTED SOVIET MATERIAL ADVANCES, BOYER CONCLUDED, REFERRING SPECIFICALLY TO THE TRAIN WHICH TOOK THEM TO LENINGRAD AND BACK, WHICH COMPARED UNFAVORABLY WITH "SECOND CLASS SPANISH TRAINS." FINALLY, ALL OF THE MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WERE PARTICULARLY TAKEN ABACK BY THE CONSTRAINTS ON POLITICAL, INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC LIFE AND THE "NEAR-RELIGIOUS" TERMS IN WHICH LENIN AND THE REVOLUTION WERE CONSISTENTLY PORTRAYED.

4. HOLDING THEIR OWN IN PRIVATE. AS INDICATED IN REFTTEL, BOYER SAID THEIR PRIVATE TALKS WITH SUSLOV AND OTHERS HAD BEEN QUITE CANDID AND AT TIMES DOWNRIGHT TOUGH. GONZALEZ MADE IT CLEAR AT THE OUTSET THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE SOVIETS HAD ANYTHING TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE INTERNAL SPANISH POLITICAL DEBATE, WHILE "THE SOVIETS OBVIOUSLY WERE CONVINCED THAT THEIR OWN POLITICAL EVOLUTION WAS PERFECT AND NEEDED NO IMPROVEMENT." MORE SPECIFICALLY, BOYER SAID:

-- GONZALEZ TOOK THE SOVIETS TO TASK FOR THEIR SUPPORT OF CANARIES INDEPENDENCE FANATIC CUBILLO, THROUGH

ALGERIA, MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THE PSOE CONSIDERED THIS AN INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL SPANISH AFFAIRS AND A POTENTIAL DANGER TO SPAIN'S POLITICAL EVOLUTION. HE PARTICULARLY MENTIONED THE PRESENCE OF CUBILLO AT THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION AT THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN ALGIERS, TO WHICH THEIR SOVIET INTERLOCUTORS RESPONDED THAT "CUBILLO APPEARED WITHOUT AN INVITATION." IN ANY EVENT, THE SOVIETS UNDERTOOK "TO STUDY THE MATTER." GONZALEZ ALSO WAS CRITICAL OF THE USSR'S SUPPORT FOR EQUATORIAL GUINEAN DICTATOR MACIAS. -- THE SOVIETS, FOR THEIR PART, EMPHASIZED THAT SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO WOULD "DESTABILIZE" THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MADRID 10576

SECURITY SITUATION IN EUROPE. EMBOFF RESPONDED THAT THIS HARDLY WAS CREDIBLE, SINCE NATO WAS A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE AND THE SOVIETS OBVIOUSLY ALREADY CONSIDERED SPAIN A DE FACTO MEMBER, OBSERVATIONS WITH WHICH BOYER

SEEMED TO AGREE. THEY ALSO EXPRESSED SPECIAL CONCERN OVER THE SITUATION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, ACCUSING THE US OF STIRRING UP THE CRISIS THERE. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, BOYER SAID THE PSOE DID NOT TAKE SUCH CHARGES SERIOUSLY.

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5. THE COMMUNIQUE BATTLE. WHEN EMBOFF SUGGESTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD ONCE AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THEIR EXPERTISE IN COMMUNIQUE WRITING, BOYER LAUNCHED INTO A LENGTHY EXPOSITION ON THE DRAFTING PROCESS IN WHICH HE MADE IT QUITE CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS HAD BEEN THE IRRESISTABLE FORCE TO THE PSOE'S MOVABLE OBJECT AND THAT THE EXERCISE HAD BEEN MOST EDUCATIONAL FOR THE PSOE DELEGATION. THE SOVIETS, HE SAID, HAD SHOVED DRAFT COMMUNIQUE AT THEM ALMOST FROM THE TIME THEY STEPPED OFF THE PLANE. THEY HAD SUCCEEDED IN REMOVING THE MOST OBJECTIONABLE LANGUAGE, SUCH AS A CONDEMNATORY REFERENCE TO THE NEUTRON BOMB, BUT AFTER DAYS OF HAGGLING OVER THE DOCUMENT, THE DELEGATION JUST WANTED TO GET IT OVER WITH. CONSEQUENTLY, THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE INCLUDED THE REFERENCE TO SHARED OPPOSITION TO THE EXPANSION OF ALLIANCES, WITHOUT THE PSOE'S QUALIFIER TO THE EFFECT THAT SPAIN'S DECISION, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, WAS UP TO THE SPANISH PEOPLE. THIS, OF COURSE, BOYER HASTENED TO ADD, CONTINUED TO BE THE PSOE'S POSITION. MORE GENERALLY, BOYER CONTINUED, THE SOVIETS ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS WOULD SIMPLY RESPOND TO A PSOE PRESENTATION ON A PARTICULAR ISSUE THAT THEIR VIEWS "WERE IDENTICAL," ALTHOUGH BOYER BELIEVED THIS REALLY WAS NOT THE CASE BUT THE SOVIETS WANTED TO DEMONSTRATE THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE CONVERGENCE IN THE COMMUNIQUE.

6. THE PRESENCE OF RAMOS. THE PARTICIPATION OF RAMOS IN THE DELEGATION, BOYER SAID, WAS AN INDICATION OF GONZALEZ' "IRONIC SENSE OF HUMOR." THE CATALAN SOCIALIST LEADER HAD BEEN IN MOSCOW BUYING ARMS FOR THE REPUBLIC AT THE CLOSE OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, AND WAS PREVENTED BY THE SOVIETS FROM RETURNING. IN THE

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MID-FORTIES, HE WAS SENTENCED TO TEN YEARS IN PRISON FOR "ANTI-SOVIET ACTIVITIES", PART OF WHICH HE SPENT WORKING IN SIBERIAN COAL MINES. WHEN HE WAS RELEASED,

IN 1958, HE RETURNED TO SPAIN. RAMOS, WHO SPEAKS RUSSIAN AND IS SOMETHING OF AN EXPERT ON SOVIET HISTORY, HAD A DEVASTATING ANECDOTE FOR ALMOST EVERY OCCASION, BOYER SAID, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS TOOK HIS PRESENCE QUITE WELL, ALL THINGS CONSIDERED, EVEN TOASTING HIM ON ONE OCCASION.

7. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH BOYER IS ONE OF THE LEADING FIGURES OF THE PSOE'S RIGHT WING, HIS NEGATIVE IMPRESSIONS OF THE USSR DO INDEED APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN SHARED BY THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION. PSOE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER GOMEZ LLORENTE, WIDELY CONSIDERED TO BE THE LEADING PSOE "LEFTIST," RECENTLY TOLD EMBOFFS THAT DELEGATION MEMBER ALFONSO GUERRA, ALSO CONSIDERED RATHER RADICAL BY MOST OBSERVERS, HAD GONE ON IN GREAT LENGTH ABOUT HIS OWN UNFAVORABLE REACTION TO MUCH OF WHAT THEY HAD SEEN, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDED INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC FREEDOMS AND THE SPECIAL PRIVILEGES OF PARTY MEMBERS. BOYER WAS ALMOST APOLOGETIC ABOUT THE COMMUNIQUE, MAKING IT QUITE CLEAR THAT HE CONSIDERED THE PSOE LEADERSHIP WANTING IN THE FOREIGN POLICY FIELD. ALTHOUGH THE COMMUNIQUE'S LANGUAGE ON OPPOSITION TO THE EXPANSION OF ALLIANCES IS BASICALLY A REITERATION OF THE PSOE'S LONGSTANDING POSITION ON THE ISSUE, THE FACT THAT IT WAS INCLUDED IN A JOINT DOCUMENT WITH THE SOVIETS IS JUST ONE MORE INDICATION OF THE PARTY'S LACK OF SOPHISTICATION IN INTERNATIONAL MATTERS. EATON

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